

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 14571 102039Z

20

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 ACDA-05 (ISO) W
----- 078524

R 101522Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5450

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 14571

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, JA

SUBJ: JAPANESE REACTION TO GROMYKO KOMMUNIST ARTICLE

REF: A. TOKYO 14466 (NOTAL); B. MOSCOW 14464 (NOTAL)

1. JAPANESE EMBOFFS HYODO AND ORITA CALLED ON EMBOFFS
EARLY THIS WEEK TO DISCUSS GROMYKO'S KOMMUNIST ARTICLE.

2. WE VIEW THE ARTICLE AS A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF SOVIET
FOREIGN POLICY LEADING UP TO THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS NEXT
FEBRUARY. IT DEALT IN DETAIL WITH SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS,
SOVIET-EASTERN EUROPEAN RELATIONS, AND OTHER QUESTIONS OF
CENTRAL CONCERN TO SOVIET POLICY-MAKERS (REF B). JAPAN
WAS MENTIONED ONLY BRIEFLY IN A PORTION WHICH FIRST
DENOUNCED PEKING IN STANDARD TERMS, THEN WARNED ABOUT ALLEGED PRC
EFFORTS TO DRAW JAPAN INTO ITS ANTI-SOVIET DESIGNS, THEN
DENOUNCED THOSE "FORCES" IN JAPAN WHICH OPPOSE BETTER
RELATIONS WITH THE USSR, AND WHO RAISE "BASELESS CLAIMS TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 14571 102039Z

THE SO-CALLED 'NORTHERN TERRITORIES'." THE ARTICLE THEN

STATED THAT "IT IS CLEAR THAT SUCH CLAIMS WILL ALWAYS RECEIVE A FIRM REBUFF FROM OUR SIDE." IT THEN MOVED ON TO DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS.

3. THE JAPANESE ARE NO DOUBT CORRECT IN ASSERTING THAT THIS STATEMENT SEEMS TO CONTRADICT THE TERMS OF THE 1973 TANAKA-BREZHNEV UNDERSTANDING, BUT THIS IS NOT UNIQUE. ONE OF THE JAPANESE EMBOFFS CLAIMED WITH EXASPERATION THAT THE SOVIETS SIMPLY IGNORE OR DENY MATTERS DISCUSSED BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND TANAKA, SUCH AS THE PROMISED "TROIKA" VISIT TO JAPAN, EVEN THOUGH THEY KNOW THAT THE JAPANESE HAVE A TRANSCRIPT OF THE WHOLE EXCHANGE.

4. ON THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES, GROMYKO DOES INDEED SEEM TO ASSERT THAT THERE IS NO TERRITORIAL ISSUE TO DISCUSS WITH JAPAN. BUT DESPITE MORE POINTED WORDING THAN USUAL, THE LINE IS NOT NEW. GROMYKO MADE A SIMILAR SLAP AT THE JAPANESE IN HIS NATIONAL DAY SPEECH LAST NOVEMBER 6 AND A SOVIET OFFICIAL ASSERTED SHORTLY THEREAFTER THAT THE SOVIETS DO NOT ACCEPT THE BASIS OF THE JAPANESE CLAIM (MOSCOW 18771, 1974). MORE RECENTLY SOVIET COMMENTARIES ON THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF V-J DAY EMPHASIZED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD REGAINED "AGE-OLD" TERRITORIES BY THE OUTCOME, THAT JAPAN ACCEPTED THE SURRENDER TERMS SPECIFIED AT POTSDAM AND YALTA AND THAT THE WW II RESULTS COULD NOT BE REOPENED (MOSCOW 12610).

5. THE CHINA FACTOR SEEMS TO OVERRIDE ALL OTHERS IN MOSCOW'S ATTITUDE TOWARD JAPAN. THE SOVIETS HAVE HAMMERED AWAY AT THE PROPOSED SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT) SINCE THE TALKS BEGAN, AND HAVE FOCUSED ON THE PROPOSED "ANTI-HEGEMONY" LANGUAGE. THE GROMYKO ARTICLE WAS SIGNED TO PRESS SEPTEMBER 24, AT A TIME WHEN THE SOVIETS SEEMED TO BE GEARING UP FOR A SETBACK--I.E., JAPANESE ACCEPTANCE OF THE OFFENDING LANGUAGE (MOSCOW 13054). THE SOVIETS MAY HAVE BEEN PLEASANTLY SURPRISED BY THE CONTINUED DELAY IN CONCLUDING THE TREATY, BUT THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO SHIFT GEARS TO APPLAUD THE JAPANESE OPENLY FOR THIS RESISTANCE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 14571 102039Z

6. RELATED TO THE CHINA FACTOR IS THE SOVIET ANXIETY THAT JAPAN MAY BE MOVED TO PLAY A LARGER SECURITY ROLE IN ASIA. SOVIET COMMENTATORS BECAME VERY EXERCISED ABOUT THIS POSSIBILITY AT THE TIME OF SECDEF SCHLESINGER'S VISIT TO JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA IN AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, AND EVEN HINTED AT A QUASI-ALLIANCE OF THE U.S., JAPAN AND CHINA TO THWART SOVIET INTERESTS IN THE AREA (MOSCOW 13054). A MOSCOW RADIO COMMENTARY, HEARD ON THE EVENING OF OCT 9,

DENOUNCED INCREASED MILITARY SPENDING IN JAPAN (1976 EXPECTED TO BE 15 PERCENT ABOVE 1975), AND ASKED RHETORICALLY WHAT THE PURPOSE COULD BE FOR SUCH AN INCREASE.

7. CONCERNING THE HIRASAWA ARTICLE, WHICH THE SOVIETS LOGICALLY SHOULD WELCOME, THEY HAVE SAID NOTHING PUBLICLY AND JAPANESE EMBOFF HYODO SAID THAT AS FAR AS THE JAPANESE EMBASSY HERE IS AWARE, THEY HAVE BEEN SILENT PRIVATELY AS WELL. "IT SEEMS THAT THEY DO NOT TAKE IT SERIOUSLY," HE SAID. WE HAVE NOT HEARD ABOUT, AND WULD BE INTERESTED IN LEARNING MORE CONCERNING THE "UNOFFICIAL" WELCOME WHICH REF A MENTIONS (PARA 2, C).

8. THE OTHER ITEMS MENTIONED IN ARAI'S BRIEFING SEEM TO US TO BE EXAMPLES OF THE USUAL TYPE OF NEGATIVE SOVIET REPORTING ON JAPAN. FOR EXAMPLE, THE ITEM ABOUT THE MAYOR OF NEMURO (IZVESTIYA, OCT 4) MAINLY CONCERNED THE VISIT TO HKKAIDO BY A PRC DELEGATION, WHICH WAS QUOTED AS ENDORSING JAPANESE CLAIMS TO THE NORTHERN ISLAND. SUCH STATEMENTS FROM CHINESE ALMOST INVARIABLY PROVOKE A SOVIET REACTION BOTH AGAINST PEKING AND AGAINST THOSE JAPANESE WHO SEEM TO BE ENDORSING THEM.

9. IN SUM, WE WOULD HESITATE TO CHARACTERIZE THE GROMYKO ARTICLE OR THE OTHER ITEMS MENTIONED IN REF A AS A NEW SOVIET "CAMPAIGN." IN OUR VIEW, THEY DO NOT REPRESENT A SIGNIFICANT DEPARTURE FROM THE CHARACTERISTICALLY NEGATIVE SOVIET MEDIA TREATMENT OF JAPAN OVER THE PAST YEAR OR MORE. THE ISSUES AND THE MANNER OF TREATMENT FLUCTUATE, BUT THE GENERAL TONE OF RELATIONS REMAIN STEADILY COOL.

STOESSEL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 14571 102039Z

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PUBLICATIONS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 OCT 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: KelleyW0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MOSCOW14571
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750354-0218
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751062/aaaaccpo.tel
Line Count: 154
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 TOKYO 14466
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: KelleyW0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <11 JUN 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <29 OCT 2003 by KelleyW0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: JAPANESE REACTION TO GROMYKO KOMMUNIST ARTICLE
TAGS: PFOR, UR, JA, KOMMUNIST, (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006